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INTERNAL LABOUR  
MIGRATION IN FIJI**

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## **Uneven Regional Development and Internal Labour Migration In Fiji**

### **Summary**

The phenomenon of labour mobility in Fiji is encouraged by the existing pattern of uneven regional development which creates and contributes to limited economic opportunities. This is manifested by a disparity in the average annual growth rate of the provincial population, which implies migration from the lower income provinces to the higher income provinces. Circular labour migration follows the same paths. Gains to the village economy from circular mobility, especially in the remote periphery and the outer islands, take the form of remittances which supplement local income. Labour mobility, and particularly its circular form, expresses the interdependency between the capitalist and village modes of production. This mobility is a mechanism whereby the native villagers supply cheap labour for the production of commodities, and at the same time contribute to village households income, and thus enable the native population to satisfy cash requirements beyond local commercial production capacity. Although this mechanism supports the existing core-periphery pattern in Fiji, it may be considered an integrative component in the development strategies of small island states.

## Introduction

Disadvantages in the development and questions of economic viability have long been a major concern for small island states in the Third World (Benedict 1967; Selwyn 1975; Dommén 1980; Cohen 1983). Though similar to those faced by other developing countries, in small island states these issues become magnified, as a result of problems of scale, location, transportation, and because of a specific economic structure (Bayliss-Smith ET AL 1988). A number of small island societies of the South Pacific have developed economic and social structures which have labeled them as "MIRAB" economies. The acronym stands for Labour Migration, Remittances, overseas Aid and Bureaucracy. Bertram and Watters (1985), who are largely responsible for the use of the term, argued that a high proportion of their labour force being temporarily or otherwise employed overseas at any given time is a characteristic of these economies. Remittances in cash and in kind generated by these migrant workers are distributed, usually through kin-group channels, and provide a major source of the home population's disposable income. Aid to these Pacific island communities tends to follow a pattern of supplements to local incomes and consumption, and in some cases represents a large proportion of the two. Furthermore, the inflow of aid finances a large share of government budget and imports (Fairbairn 1985).

It is also relatively common in these small economies that the government sector is the dominant cash employer. Although Bertram and Watters (1985, 1986) have proposed the MIRAB paradigm mainly for the Pacific Microstates, the economic structure of the larger island states exhibits similar features. This may not be so to the same degree in the economic structure of Fiji as in that of Kiribati, when the volume of the foreign aid to government and the total number of wage employees in the government sector are considered proportionally. But a study of the village economy clearly shows that migration and remittances make up a major mechanism in supplementing cash incomes.

Within this peculiar economic structure, significant attention should be given to the role labour migration. In research, this attention is commonly apportioned between two perspectives. The conventional perspective, which usually regards labour mobility as a balancing mechanism in the decrease of inter-regional income gaps, and the structural, which regards mobility as a process in a structural arrangement. In some of the latter cases, labour mobility is regarded as a mechanism which supports and maintains patterns of uneven development, both at the local and at the global level. This mobility, whether permanent or temporary, is the component of the economy which exchanges labour power for wage income. The income is then remitted or brought back in cash or kind to the labour source area, to support those left behind. Temporary mobility is usually short term and repetitive or cyclical in character, and where there is no permanent change of residence, it is commonly termed circulation (Zelinsky 1971). Labour circulation, thus, is a form of mobility characterised by migrants working away from their permanent homes for periods of a few months before their return. Migration within the MIRAB paradigm is associated with issues such as small sized insularity, limited natural and human resources and production relations in the, rural area.

This paper presents a case study of circular labour migration in an island state, Fiji according to a paradigm emphasizing the structural nature of the under reasons for the migration. The case study points out that the phenomenon of labour circulation derives from the existing pattern of uneven regional development which creates and contributes to limited employment opportunities. Further more, the paper suggests that labour circulation in developing small island states, and possibly also in other developing countries, is a mechanism supporting the coexistence of two modes of production. Labour migration sustains the existence and continual reproduction of the non-capitalist village mode of production, which by virtue of its use, contributes to the development of the capitalist mode of production.

The paper is organized into four sections. Section 2 provides a brief discussion of different perspectives concerning labour circulation in developing countries. Section 3 presents the state of the Fijian village in the context of the current pattern of uneven development in Fiji. The practice of circulation by Fijian villagers is dealt within section four. In the concluding section, issues of the conservation of components of the socio-economic structure and of the reproduction of the polarized pattern are discussed.

### **Labour Migration Perspectives**

Methodologically and philosophically, migration studies may be perceived in a conventional or in a structural perspective, and categorized accordingly. An underlying assumption of the "conventional perspective" is that labour migration affects national development positively by providing an outlet for the productive mobilization of underutilized labour (Luis 1954; Sjaastad 1962; Todaro 1976). There are a number of spatial configurations to the population flow. The dominant among them is rural urban mobility serving to supply surplus labour from rural areas to satisfy the need for industrial labour. Rural labour circulation presents a specific pattern of this mobility, implying the commitment to a rural locale. Seen from the viewpoint of neoclassical economics, migration plays a role in narrowing geographical differentials in income. Thus, labour mobility serves as an equilibratium mechanism. The movement of labour from lower income, depressed and overpopulated areas to higher income and advanced areas is assumed to be an expression of "free choice", and could result in returns to labour in both areas, becoming more balanced. The consequence of reducing pressure in rural areas will be higher rural welfare, and thus a decrease in the welfare gap between rural and urban areas. Myrdal (1957) and Friedmann (1973) use a similar logic but arrive at different conclusions. Using a core periphery paradigm, both argue that labour mobility is a mechanism of the polarizing process. As the economy of the destination areas grow, the source regions decline and become more underdeveloped.

In the "structural perspective", labour migration is regarded as a mechanism by which capital controls labour within the capitalist social formation, and hence is intrinsically tied to capitalist expansion (Wallersteity1974). The expansion of European capital into "new territories" resulted in the emergence of a distinctive colonial socio-economic

formation, characterized by both social and spatial divisions which were necessary for sustaining labour migration. In this context, the "articulation of modes of production" explanation of patterns of development in the developing countries proposes that the local pre-capitalist mode of production was not dismantled, but through a process of transformation became subordinate to the penetrating capitalist mode. The resulting pattern featured a polarized economy in which a small number of "cores" such as cities, plantations, and mining enclaves were dominated by a capitalist mode of production and typified by wage relations with labour. These core areas act as foci where labour migration concentrates whether permanently or temporarily. Outside these cores, a vast periphery characterized by subsistence or semi-subsistence production based on the domestic labour force is dominated by a transformed precapitalist mode of production (Meillasouy 1972; Bedford 1981).

*"A vitally important component of the articulation of capitalist and pre-capitalist modes in many parts of the Third World was, therefore, a deliberate reliance on the indigenous village socio-economic system to reproduce cheap labour for capitalist enterprises. Rather than destroying the pre-capitalist mode, the process of articulation operating through the mechanism of labour circulation, served to conserve the functions of social security for the young, the sick, the unemployed and the elderly, and the means of human reproduction - subsistence and women - in the pre-capitalist mode" (Bedford 1981)*

Colonial policies and later those of post-colonial administrations. Have thus created conditions in which rural households or their members may move to areas of capitalist activity to engage in wage labour, while ensuring that migrants are socially and economically bound to their villages and do not remain in the cores. This form of migration ensures that surplus value inherent in migrant labour is transferred from the non-capitalist to the capitalist sector (Wolpe 1972). Circular migration thus benefits from the capitalist sector at the expense of the domestic economy (Meillasoux 1972).

Both perspectives on migration stress the underlying assumption that geographical disparity in development generates labour migration. The continuous process of labour migration sustained over time and space is a form of response to the conditions of a spatially asymmetric socioeconomic system. Such spatial inequalities are intensified in Third World social formations which have undergone change through historical processes of capitalist penetration and adaptation (Soja 1980). The evolving dualistic economic structure defined in terms of economic and political power, the form of infrastructural linkages, and the flow of labour perpetuate development at one pole - the core - and underdevelopment at the other pole - the periphery. The core-periphery pattern generates and supports labour mobility between both poles either permanently or on a temporary circular basis. Thus, circular labour migration is a typical response to a pattern of uneven capitalist development. By this means labour from the underdeveloped pole utilizes wage employment at the developed pole for survival and social reproduction.

## Uneven Development in Fiji

The core-periphery pattern initiated in Fiji in colonial times is preserved in the present independent state. It has been shown that core and periphery in Fiji exhibit spatial differences in living standards and other economic indicators (Sofer 1988). This pattern implies the existence of places dominated by a capitalist production mode and places dominated by a non-capitalist mode. As displayed by Suva's urban area and sectors, the core is characterized by a variety of economic activities with relatively advanced production technologies, wage income opportunities, and capital accumulation capabilities. The periphery covering most of the rest of the country, excluding the province of Ba which is the focus of the sugar production zone is typified by a rural economy. It is characterized by low economic diversity and dominated by domestic production forms, either Indo-Fijian or Fijian individual small holdings or more often, the communal native Fijian village. Low-level farming technology is common in the periphery, mainly in the Fijian villages, with limited commercial production and non-accumulation of capital being the main features of the production pattern.

The pattern of regional differentiation in economic opportunities is of specific interest in the discussion of spatial unevenness and circular mobility in Fiji. Table 1 displays this spatial disparity as the regional distribution of persons employed in paid jobs, at the Division level 2. The figures clearly show a concentration of wage and salaried employees in the Central Division, of which Suva is a part, as well as in the government sector. It is important to note that the main focus of government employment is Suva and its vicinity, which expresses the much greater concentration of paid employment in Suva than in any other region of the country. Away from Suva, the number of wage and salary workers declines, apart from some parts of the Western Division. In the Eastern Division, where the native Fijian village is dominant, the number of paid employees is especially low, with only 1.3% of the total of paid employees in Fiji in 1986.

**Table 1**  
**Distribution of Employees by Division: 1986**

Division	Wage	Number of Employees Salary	Total	% of Total
Government	9,950	16,828	26,778	33.1
Central	19,418	8,395	27,813	34.4
Suva	16,122	7,542	23,664	29.3
Other	3,296	853	4,149	5.1
Western	15,940	5,375	21,315	26.4
Northern	3,144	756	3,900	4.8
Eastern	887	149	1,036	1.3
Total	49,339	31,503	80,842	100

In Table 2, provincial Average Annual Growth Rates (AAGR) calculated for the three inter-census periods since 1956, express the population response to this regional disparity. Assuming no significant differences in the birth and death rates among Fiji's provinces, the disparity in the AAGR must be seen as a consequence of permanent internal migration. Provinces with an AAGR higher than the national average, serve as the main destination areas for inter-provincial migrants, while provinces with a low AAGR are the main migration source areas. The greatest differentiation is clearly between the provinces of the Suva-Nausori urban corridor, Rewa and Naitasiri, and the provinces of the Eastern Division. The combined population of the first two provinces has risen from 21.7% of the total population of Fiji in 1956, to 27.6% in 1986. By contrast, in the same period, the population of the Eastern Division has declined from 10.2% of the total population of Fiji to 6.0% for the same period. Therefore, migration is more common from the provinces of the Eastern Division, Kadaw, Lau, Lomaiviti and Rotuma, than from any other part of Fiji. These provinces are characterized by the high percentage of their rural population engaged in semi-subsistence agriculture, mostly Fijian villagers, and by the absence of urban centres and job opportunities.

Although the figures in Table 2 are limited to persons changing residence, figures at the village level will support the assumption that labour circulation follows the same direction, circulating away from provinces with limited job opportunities to provinces where such employment is available.

The native Fijian rural population is highly mobile by nature. Yet it seems that the diffusion of a monetized economy throughout the country and the growing integration of rural and urban areas have stimulated population mobility amongst villages and regions whose inhabitants seek wage employment. As already suggested, the mobility of village inhabitants has two dimensions. The first, the consequence of which is shown in Table 2, is a permanent type of migration with people leaving the village in order to settle elsewhere. The second is a circular type of mobility, whereby people dwell away from their village for a limited period of time, usually for purposes of temporary wage employment, or of education, or for various social reasons. Links with the village remain viable in this circular case, as they also may in the case of permanent migration. The benefit to the economy from inter-regional mobility derives from remittances sent to the village from cash and wage goods brought back individually or communally, by villagers involved in circular migration.

**Table 2**  
**Provincial Population and Average Annual Growth Rates**

Province	1956	% of Total Population	1966	% of Total Population	1976	% of Total Population	1986	% of Total Population	AAGR		
									1956-66	1966-76	1976-86
Western Division											
Ba	94,004	27.2	135,968	28.5	167,095	28.4					
Nadroga/Navosa	27,443	7.9	37,494	7.9	45,929	7.8					

Ra	16,998	4.8	22,298	4.7	25,523	4.3					
<i>Central Division</i>											
Serua	6,513	1.9	8,181	1.7	11,623	1.9					
Namosi	2,361	0.7	2,721	0.6	3,292	0.6					
Tailevu	27,528	8.0	34,141	7.2	39,952	6.8					
Naitasiri	27,347	7.9	39,485	8.3	65,111	11.1					
Rewa	47,758	13.8	69,901	14.7	87,257	14.8					
<i>Northern Division</i>											
Macuata	29,808	8.6	44,433	9.3	57,414	9.8					
Cakaudrove	23,339	6.8	30,053	6.3	34,251	5.8					
Bua	7,622	2.2	9,758	2.0	11,457	1.9					
<i>Eastern Division</i>											
Kadavu	7,450	2.2	8,631	1.8	8,699	1.5					
I	13,500	3.9	15,988	3.4	14,452	2.5					
Lomaitivi	11,244	3.2	13,264	2.8	13,568	2.3					
ti											
Rotuma	3,122	0.9	3,365	0.7	2,805	0.5					
Others			1,046	0.2							
Fiji	345,737	100	476,727	100	588,068	100					

In the following discussion the focus is on the Fijian native communal village as a representative of the periphery. This is typified by a non-capitalist mode of production based on domestic labour in which surplus labour is used partly collectively and partly utilized through commercial exchange.

### Village Experience in Circular Mobility

For clearer understanding of the mobility pattern, some of the characteristics of villagers' circular mobility are presented in Tables 3 and 4. Table 3 shows numbers, ages and reasons for temporary absence from the villages at the time of the survey. "Temporary absence" means a person was away at the time of the survey, although usually resident in the village. This includes people who are still single and are perceived as members of a village household although dwelling in other locations for more than a year. The tendency of such people to return to the village is relatively high, especially during periods of economic recession similar to that experienced in Fiji in the early 1980s, or of upheaval like that just after the 1987 coups. On the other hand, married people living together away from the village are counted as permanent migrants.



From Table 3 it is clear that absence is more prevalent in the 15-59 age group. In the course of the field work, no case of temporary mobility outside the village was recorded for the over-59 age group. Wage labour employment, mainly urban, is the major reason for absence from the village and is particularly apparent in the case of Kadavu. Rural wage jobs such as those available during the sugar harvesting season or with The Fiji Pine Commission also attract migrants, especially in the Western Division. Obviously, Suva is the major focus; it is where most of Kadavu's villagers spend their time when outside the village but it attracts fewer people from other villages. This is a reflection of the spatial disparity in wage employment availability. Wage income opportunities in the vicinity of villages on Viti Levu reduce the extent of circular migration there but may lead to a degree of commuting. In contrast, the rarity of wage employment on Kadavu results in an outflow of population.

Table 4 records the mobility pattern of male resident in the villages during the five years previous to the survey. This is a circular mobility ranging from three months to a year. The contribution of the village female population to this mobility pattern is not very significant and has been excluded from the table. In specific terms, the data represents males who have worked for at least three months or longer outside their village in the last five years.

The pattern is clear. Each village has experienced the defined mobility. In terms of total numbers, rural wage labour employment is more attractive but urban wage employment competes rather well. This pattern appears to be influenced by wage employment in rural New Zealand. Suva is the major single focus for villagers seeking wage employment. More detailed figures, which are not exhibited in this paper are rather attractive when jobs are sought for a more limited period. In regional terms, Kadavu is the area showing the highest mobility. Of the two villages' households there 58% had experienced such mobility, compared to Naqali, 30%, Narata 29%, and Votua 19%. The latter is located in the tourist city along the southern coast of the main island of Viti Levu, where wage jobs are readily available. Thus the relatively low figures for Votua are due to its villagers being employed in hotels in the vicinity of the village (Sofer 1990).

The rate of growth of the provincial population and the mobility attributes of the village population serve as basic distinguishing features in the regional unevenness. There is a clear out-mobility from the Kadavu villages in the form of permanent and circular mobility, mainly toward the core of Fiji's economic space, the Suva area. This mobility relates to the young age groups of the mature population, and its major motivation is the search for wage employment. Some rural areas, for example, where sugar is grown or tourism is concentrated, are also attractive to internal migrants. The inadequacies, short or long term, in the capability of the village production system to provide cash particularly for consumption purposes encourage a temporary mobility. The mobile population preferring employment in wage labour may be motivated by communal as well as individual needs. For example, the need to construct a new church is usually catered for by the communal effort of a party of males working outside the village to raise a substantial amount of money. This occurred in Nalotu village. The dwelling

period outside the village tends to be only a few months and the return to the village may be made according to the agricultural season or in response to an urgent need.

### **Labour Circulation and the Maintenance of Uneven Development**

In Third World countries, the articulation of the capitalist and non-capitalist modes of production maintains a reservoir of cheap labour for the capitalist sectors of the economy under certain conditions (Wolpe 1972; Bedford 1981; 1984). The consequence of labour circulation for capitalist enterprises in the core and in other areas of concentration of wage employment is that part of the long-term cost of labour is borne by the non-capitalist sector, thus reducing the cost of labour especially seasonal and temporary, in capitalist commodity production. In this context, labour mobility originating in the native Fijian village acts as a mechanism which supports commodity production in areas where capitalist production is concentrated. This is actually subsidizing an effect derived from village subsistence production which by contributing to the labour and social reproduction of the villagers, enables them to engage in temporary low-paid wage employment which does not fully cover their costs of reproduction.

Labour mobility expresses the interdependency between the capitalist and village modes of production. The capitalist production mode needs cheap labour to produce commodities, and markets for their sale, both provided by the village mode. By its contribution to the village household income and to projects involving the whole of the village community, circular labour migration acts as a mechanism by means of which the native Fijian population can satisfy cash needs beyond its local commercial production capabilities. This cash however, may also be used to purchase consumption commodities from the core, and thus can represent a net transfer of resources in favor of the core. This transfer process has remained a durable mechanism.

It may be claimed that the subsidizing process operates in two ways. Subsistence production subsidizes the reproduction of labour involved in capitalist production which thus subsidizes commodity production. Conversely, the commercial or capitalist sector by helping meet part of the reproduction costs of the labour that goes or will go into predominantly subsistence production subsidizes subsistence production. Furthermore, the state may assume some of the costs of labour reproduction by the provision of welfare services and the development of infrastructure. The subsidizing effect of both sectors is open to debate. An empirical study is needed to reconstruct separately the amount of labour time employed in the subsistence and in the capitalist commodity sectors of production, in order to determine the labour reproduction costs contributed by each sector. In this context, future research should consider elements such as subsistence and cash production in the village community, remittances, wage goods, labour time involved in labour production and the needs involved in labour and social reproduction.

The pattern of uneven development in Fiji is the result of the interactions of two modes of production, the capitalist and the village modes, which are spatially concentrated. In this context, it is possible to regard labour circulation as a major mechanism, among others,

which supports the maintenance of patterns of uneven development in Fiji. The current core-periphery structure is characterized by interaction such as exhibited by rural-urban labour circulation, which primarily benefit the focus of wage employment; that is the core and its capitalist enterprises.

It is also suggested here that circular migration operates as a mechanism which supports the preservation of the village mode of production. The meaning of "preservation" here is the persisting employment of a form of production developed in colonial times, with only marginal change. That is to say, the magnitude of the change is limited and is part of a preservation process rather than of a transformation process. The persistence of the form thus assists in maintaining the relative position of the periphery vis-à-vis the core. The Kadavu villages provide typical examples of the major characteristics of the village mode of production. These include the persistence of non-capitalist production forces and relations, a low level of technology mainly with use of traditional agricultural equipment, low cash returns from village agricultural production, a high proportion of subsistence production, a significant share of the end use of production directed to communal and household exchange, and a communal method of raising money for village projects. Of the villages surveyed, Narata and Votua have gone through more extreme changes than the others, which is also reflected in the lower degree of circular mobility found among their inhabitants (Sofer 1987; 1990).

Spatial differences in income encourage labour mobility from rural areas, which can, however, also be initiated by inadequate land resources, lack of opportunities for employment and the deterioration of shipping services to outer islands, all of which cause dissatisfaction with the standards of village material living (UNESCO/UNFPA 1977). Pressure on land resources may be reduced through permanent migration which in itself may increase the potential returns from agricultural production for those household members who remain in the village. On the other hand, individual circular labour by means of its cash contribution to the village household income, and to communal village projects reducing the burden on the individual households, both provide villagers with a satisfactory level of economic welfare. The result is flow of cash to the village in the form of remittances from the relatives of those remaining and money brought to the village by circular mobility of labour. Such cash flows which are sometimes in kind allow periphery inhabitants to maintain a domestic consumption standard which is not as low as might have been expected on the basis of their production capacity alone.

State intervention based on ideology and political action supports the preservation of the village mode of production (Bedford 1984). The ideology of Fijian rural society is perpetuated and its inherent benefits are championed by the chiefly class. The state allocates resources for the improvement of services and the welfare of the inhabitants to encourage them to stay on their land. For the circular migration mechanism to be consistent with the state subsidy scheme, the support must be appropriately constrained, so as not to interfere with the availability of the surplus villager labour time required for the earning of wages in capitalist production. The resultant effect of these mechanisms the lack of need to trigger transformation processes which would bring about substantial

increases in the forces of production and possibly lead subsequently to a modification of the village production mode.

It is thus possible to consider the economic organization which is based on patterns of significant migration, on remittances, and on subsidy flows, as a response of the villagers to a kind of development driven non-endogenously, which is taking place in Fiji and other Third World island states. At the same time, villager welfare exhibits a high degree of dependence on such subsidy flows to ensure that current consumption patterns are maintained. Nevertheless, it is argued here that labour migration in small developing island states such as Fiji is a mechanism which supports the conservation of the village mode of production and this may also be true for other developing countries. Therefore, the preservation of the village mode of production tends to hamper options for change in the periphery, thus contributing to the maintenance of a pattern of uneven and polarized development.

Bertram and Watters (1985) and Ogden (1989) consider the sustainability of the MIRAB social and economic structure to be a local adjustment to external forces. Accordingly, it is possible to regard this form of economic organization, with its significant patterns of migration, remittances, and aid flows, as the villagers' response to non-endogenously driven development. Yet, this response, in the form of labour migration, sustains the existence and continuous reproduction of the village, non-capitalist, mode of production which by virtue of its operation contributes to the development of the capitalist sectors of the economy.

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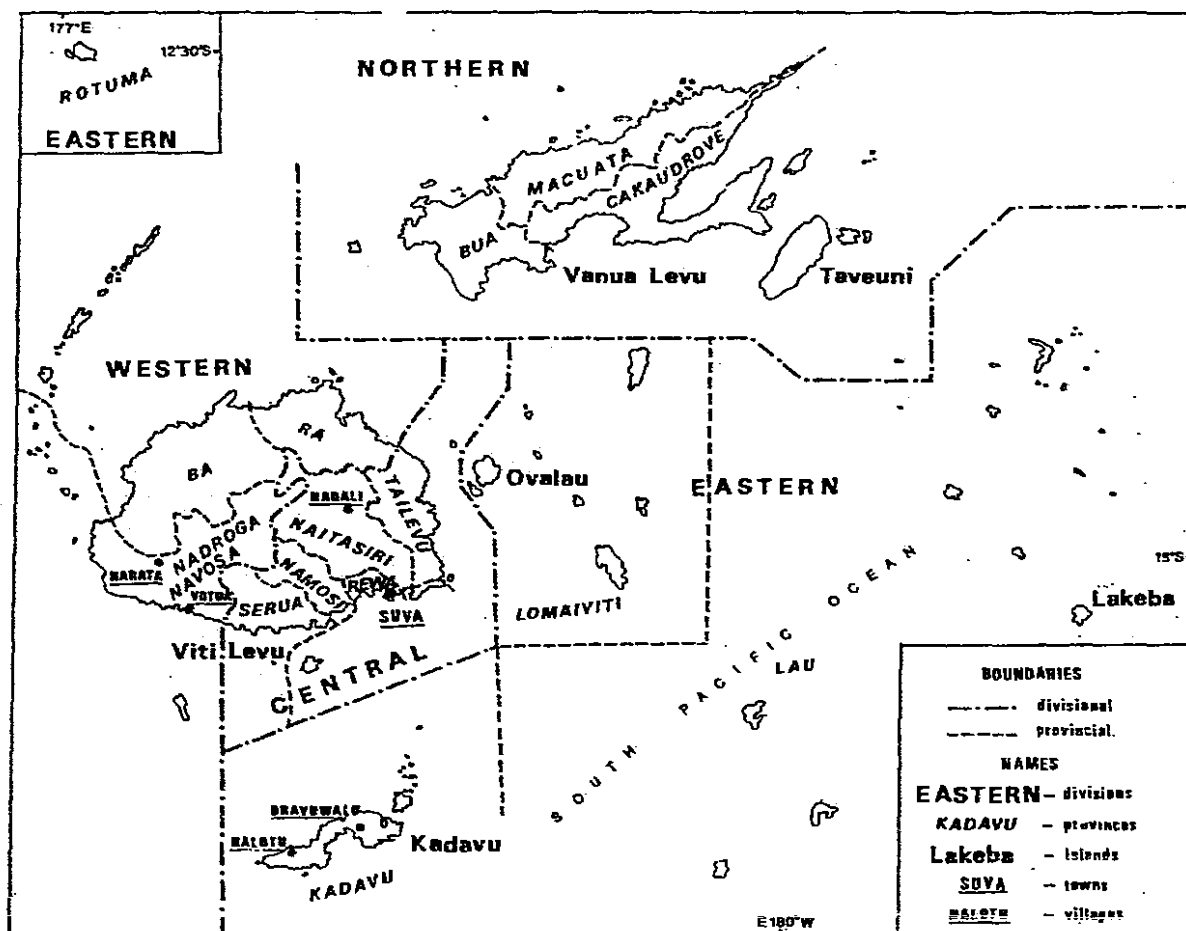


Figure 1. Map of Fiji and administrative units.



TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYEES BY DIVISION - 1986

Division	Wage	No. of employees Salary	Total	as % of Total
Government	9,950	16,828	26,778	33.1
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Western	15,940	5,375	21,315	26.4
Northern	3,144	756	3,900	4.8
Eastern	887	149	1,036	1.3
Total	49,339	31,503	80,842	100.0

Source: Bureau of Statistics (1987).

TABLE 2. PROVINCIAL POPULATION AND AVERAGE ANNUAL GROWTH RATES

PROVINCE	YEAR	% of		% of		% of		% of		AAGR		
		1956	total	1966	total	1976	total	1986	total	1956	1966	1976
			pop.		pop.		pop.		pop.	-66	-76	-86
<u>Western Division</u>												
Ba		94,004	27.2	135,968	28.5	167,095	28.4	197,633	27.6	3.8	2.1	1.7
Nadroga/Navosa		27,443	7.9	37,494	7.9	45,929	7.8	54,431	7.6	3.1	2.1	1.7
Ra		16,998	4.8	22,298	4.7	25,523	4.3	31,285	4.4	2.8	1.4	2.1
<u>Central Division</u>												
Serua		6,513	1.9	8,181	1.7	11,263	1.9	13,356	1.9	2.3	3.3	1.7
Namosi		2,361	0.7	2,721	0.6	3,292	0.6	4,836	0.7	1.4	1.9	4.0
Tailevu		27,528	8.0	34,141	7.2	39,952	6.8	44,249	6.2	2.2	1.6	1.0
Naitasiri		27,347	7.9	39,485	8.3	65,111	11.1	100,227	14.0	3.7	5.1	4.4
Rewa		47,758	13.8	69,901	14.7	87,257	14.8	97,742	13.6	3.9	2.2	1.1
<u>Northern Division</u>												
Macuata		29,808	8.6	44,433	9.3	57,414	9.8	74,435	10.4	4.1	2.6	2.7
Cakaudrove		23,339	6.8	30,053	6.3	34,251	5.8	40,433	5.7	2.5	1.3	1.6
Bua		7,622	2.2	9,758	2.0	11,457	1.9	13,986	2.0	2.5	1.6	2.1
<u>Eastern Division</u>												
Kadavu		7,450	2.2	8,631	1.8	8,699	1.5	9,805	1.4	1.5	0.0	1.2
Lau		13,500	3.9	15,988	3.4	14,452	2.5	14,203	2.0	1.7	-1.0	-0.2
Lomaiviti		11,244	3.2	13,264	2.8	13,568	2.3	16,066	2.2	1.6	0.2	1.7
Rotuma		3,122	0.9	3,365	0.7	2,805	0.5	2,688	0.4	0.7	-1.8	-0.4
others				1,046	0.2							
Fiji		345,737	100	476,727	100	588,068	100	715,375	99.8	3.2	2.1	2.0

Sources: McArthur (1958); Zwart (1968); Lodhia (1977); Navunisaravi (1988).

AAGR = Average Annual Growth Rate

TABLE 3. NUMBERS TEMPORARILY ABSENT FROM VILLAGE BY AGE, SEX, REASONS AND LOCATION, 1982-83

VILLAGE (Province)	Age	Sex	REASONS					LOCATIONS			Total
			Social	Educ/n	Urb-wage <sup>1</sup>	Rur-wage	Other	Surva	Other Urban	Rural	
DRAVUNALU (Kadavu)	15-59	M	2	1	5	2		4	2	2	8
HALOTU (Kadavu)	0-14	M		1				1			1
	15-59	F	3		5	4	1	6		4	10
MAHATA (Madroga/ Navosa)	15-59	M	1	1	1	1			1	2	3
VOVUA (Madroga/ Navosa)	0-14	M					3		2	1	3
	15-59	F			1		1		1	1	2
NAOALI (Naitasiri)	0-14	M		2					1	1	2
	15-59	F	1	2	1	1	2 <sup>3</sup>	2	1	5	10

Source: Field work.

Educ/n = Education; Urb-wage = Urban wage employment; Rur-wage = Rural wage employment; M = Male; F = Female.

- Notes: 1) Wage employment in tourism is classified as urban wage employment.  
 2) Five of the total absentees belong to one family; they were posted at Lautoka at the time of the survey.  
 3) These two persons are overseas.

TABLE 4. PAST MOBILITY<sup>1</sup> OF THE MALE POPULATION FOR WORK PURPOSES FOR THREE MONTHS AND OVER DURING THE FIVE YEARS PREVIOUS TO THE SURVEY

VILLAGE	DRAVUWALU	NALOTU	NARATA	VOTUA	NAQALI
PERSONS	26	18	11 <sup>2</sup>	4	14
Households experiencing mobility					
Numbers	21	15	7	4	12
Percentage <sup>3</sup>	58	58	29	19	30
Reasons for mobility					
Urban wage employment	18	4	1	2	2
Rural wage employment <sup>4</sup>	8	14	10	2	12
Location of wage employment <sup>5</sup>					
Suva	16	3	-	-	-
Other urban	2	1	-	2	1
Rural	3	14	10	2	7
Overseas <sup>6</sup>	5	-	1	-	6

Notes: 1) For each male villager only one case of mobility is recorded for the five years previous to the survey, although some moved more than once.

2) For Narata village, two of the persons recorded here experienced past mobility for two months only.

3) The percentage of households experiencing mobility is based on all the village households except for Naqali where the proportion is based on forty households only.

4) Rural wage employment includes: cane cutting, working for The Pine Commission, work

in the Namosi copper mine, and overseas work in rural New Zealand.

5) Wage employment in the tourist industry is classified as urban wage employment but its location is defined as rural.

6) Overseas includes: New Zealand in the case of Dravuwalu and Narata, and New Zealand and Australia in the case of Naqali.

Source: Field work.